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Root, Elihu

Address by Elihu Root...

[New York?]

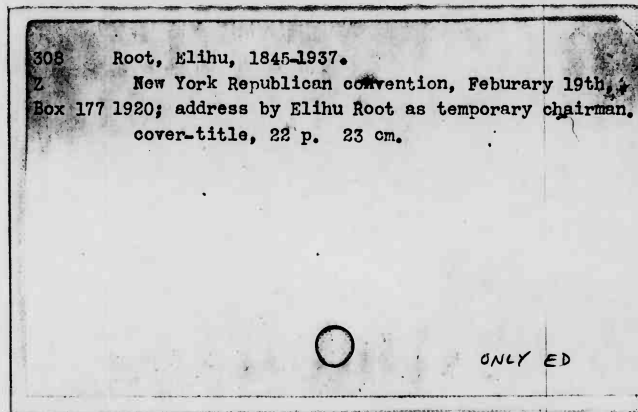
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NEW YORK REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

FEBRUARY 19th, 1920

ADDRESS BY

ELIHU ROOT AS TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

ADDRESS BY ELIHU ROOT AS TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION FEBRU-
ARY 19TH, 1920.

One of the duties of a good citizen and of a good political Party is to be alert when there is general indifference, and to be steady when there is general excitement.

The War has left the whole world in a condition of disturbed nerves; old habits are broken up; the machinery of production, transportation, trade and finance through which industry produces prosperity has been dislocated. After years of sustained excitement with nerves keyed to the highest pitch of effort, old occupations seem tame and distasteful; there is a wide-spread desire for something different to be attained no-one knows how. Multitudes of people are neglecting their own affairs and distressing themselves over the shortcomings of others. It is a prevailing state of mind. It is an epidemic. It will run its course like other epidemics, and some day the world will realize that the cure is for each man to go to work himself, attend chiefly to his own business, perform his own duties, pull his own weight in the boat. Then the high cost of living will go down.

Our business as a Party is to address ourselves with cheerful courage and confidence to the public problems demanding solution, and to bring our Country back to normal. It is not to put the Country back where it was without profiting by the lessons of these wonderful years; but it is to re-establish the effective control of the fundamental principles on which America's liberty, prosperity, and power for good in the world rest; and we must do this not by generalities, but by specific acts.

Thrift stands first on the list. An improvident and thriftless people who talk more than they work can never

succeed. To prosper, a people—like a private individual—must earn more than it spends, must really earn by contributing to the wealth of mankind more than it consumes. It cannot live long by borrowing, nor can it live long by a system of taxation which absorbs the accumulations of the past, and gradually dries up the source of supply. It is true that a political Party cannot make individuals thrifty; but a political Party can produce the shining and potent example of thrifty and economical government. The useful thing is not to have a government that preaches thrift, but a government that practises thrift, a government which makes people understand that their money is being saved, so that it will be worth while for them to earn and save.

All the world has been confused by the amazing financial figures of the War. Incredible amounts were raised by taxation and by loans, and were spent like water. There has been profligate expenditure. To some extent that was inevitable. I am not now criticizing that. There would have been less if our Government had begun to prepare for War years before it did, and when the plainest common sense demanded that it should begin; but I am not going to talk about that. There would have been less if when we entered the War the men whom the process of natural selection in American business had pointed out as competent to deal with great business affairs had been promptly called to Washington, and given power to act in that greatest of all business undertakings, instead of leaving authority in the hands of a group of men quite untrained in business affairs and distrustful of all who had achieved business success; but that is past.

The important fact now is that the officials and agents of the present Administration have acquired the habit of spending public money with both hands and they do not know how to stop. The Government departments are

still running for the most part under the War-time appropriations made by the 65th Congress which was elected in November, 1916, and they are going strong.

The American people may perhaps recall the fact that Republicans had no opportunity to acquire the bad habit of spending too much money under War-time appropriations; and they may well feel that the way to change the practice is to put out the men who have the habit, and put in those who have it not.

With a Party in power free from responsibility for defending the mistakes and bad methods which are to be reformed, three great things can be done.

First, the vast mass of figures through which the finances of the Government are presented in such a way that hardly anybody can understand to what conclusions they lead, can be reduced to practical and instructive form by the establishment of an effective budget system, under which Government will be obliged to start with its resources in order to determine its expenditures, under which the cloth will be measured before the coat is cut, under which when a new or enlarged expenditure is proposed the question will have to be asked: "Where is the money to come from?"; and under which responsibility for extravagance can be fixed. It was quite right during the War to say "Such and such things must be done immediately. We will find the money somehow"; but no nation can afford to conduct its peace expenditures in that way.

A second thing to be done is to secure executive departments that will stop urging and a Congress that will stop appropriating money for things which need not be done now, or need not be done so expensively, or need not be done at all. We should have both in the Executive and the Legislative branches men who will not be content with the assurance that a proposed expenditure is for a

good purpose; but who will also enquire "Are we justified at this time in adding to the already oppressive weight of taxation upon the American people in order to secure the money for this expenditure?"

The present Congress has done well. It has made enormous reductions in the estimates submitted by the Executive Departments for their expenditures in the next fiscal year which will begin on the 1st of next July. After that time many reductions will be forced by the limits of appropriations. It is, however, very difficult for Congressional Committees to cut down the expenses of a vast and complicated business like that of the United States Government without assistance from the heads of the departments and of bureaus. It is easy for a bureau chief to make expenditures appear absolutely necessary when they are really absolutely useless, and when his error can be discovered by nothing short of an investigating committee and cross-examining counsel. Effective economy requires co-operation between the Executive and Legislative branches. It requires courage and a sense of public duty to resist appeals, and it requires open public insistent declaration of the policy in aid of that resistance.

A third thing that can be done is to revise the system of taxation, and to make some serious changes in it indicated by experience of its effects.

It is a very difficult thing to make a good tax law, even with the most sincere purpose to distribute the burden fairly; but, if the men who make the law have other purposes, and are inspired by a desire to punish somebody by the imposition of taxes, they are sure to get into their law provisions which work badly. The men who framed the Revenue Laws of the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses did not conceal the fact that they looked with suspicion and dislike upon the great body of successful business concerns of the United States, and

upon the men who were conducting and had conducted them, and that they meant to take away as much of these men's money as they possibly could. Now, tax laws are curious boomerang-like things, and it requires some intelligence and knowledge of affairs to know where they are going to strike. No statute can determine who is really going to pay a tax. The most dangerous post is that of the innocent bystander who goes home grumbling about the high cost of living. It is time for the Republican bystander to ascertain how far these War Revenue Taxes are really paid through the cost of living by everybody who eats and wears clothes. Let him discover how far the Excess Profit Taxes for example are being added to cost, like other business expenses, so that we all pay them together with a profit on them; and then let him act.

The review of taxation will involve the Tariff. In this, new conditions are to be considered. Before the War we were a debtor Nation, paying annually interest and dividends upon from four to seven billions of American securities held in Europe, paying hundreds of millions upon letters of credit to American travellers and in the remittances of recent immigrants to their friends at home, and in freight and passenger rates upon commerce both ways across the ocean; and we were much pleased to have a favorable trade balance which reduced the amount of gold drained away from us in these ways.

All this has been changed. The United States has become a great creditor nation. Our debts to Europe have been paid. Europe does not merely owe the billions loaned by our Government to European governments, or the hundreds of millions of foreign securities sold in the American market; but the exhaustion of European supplies of the necessities of life and the raw material for manufacture have led to enormous purchases and exports of American products during the past three years.

All these things have to be paid for. There is not gold enough in the world to pay, and we already have a very large proportion of what gold there is. That is one reason why exchange has gone down, so that a pound ordinarily worth \$4.86 in American money was a few days ago worth only \$3.37. The only way in which Europe can pay America and continue to buy from America, is by producing goods and selling them. Thus, we have acquired an interest in the prosperity of Europe. It is our interest to facilitate her production and trade just as a merchant is interested in the prosperity of the customers to whom he sells on credit.

Our new Tariff Law must be framed to meet the new and difficult problems presented by this change of conditions. It must be framed so that American industry will not be ruined, especially so that the manufacture of things which the War has shown to be necessary for the independence of the Country shall not be stopped, and it must be framed so as not to destroy the export trade of Europe, which directly or indirectly will enable Europe to pay her debts and remain solvent.

All these things, if done well, must be done by a party which really sympathizes with American business and wishes it to prosper.

More important than all is the necessity that we shall restore our Republican form of Government, with the liberty of the individual citizen preserved by limitations upon official power, and put an end to the dictatorship which we created, in order to carry on the War. By a series of statutes unprecedented in scope and liberality, with singleness of purpose and patriotic devotion worthy of all praise, the American people conferred upon the President powers broader and more autocratic than were possessed by any sovereign in the civilized world. Our capacity for effort, our fortunes, our liberty of conduct,

our lives, were freely placed at the disposal of an Executive whose authority was so vast that its limits were imperceptible. The authority was exercised by the President, by his heads of Departments, his Bureau chiefs, his Government agents, and his personal agents, to the full, without question, because the people of America were ready for any sacrifice to win the War.

Peace has come, in fact, if not technically; but the War powers of the Executive still continue. They should be brought to an end. It is not a simple thing, for new conditions have been created, which should be dealt with at the same time by new statutes adapted to the conditions of peace, and subject to the limitations upon power of our Constitutional system.

There is a double immediate purpose to be served. One, to restore the habit of freedom. It is dangerous for a people to acquire the habit of bowing to power without limits. They soon become subservient, and then character essential to freedom degenerates. The other is to stop a multitude of interferences, ill-judged although well-meant, with the natural course of business through which alone natural laws can operate to restore normal conditions.

It is not in human nature to relinquish readily power once possessed. Excuses for continuance readily suggest themselves to the possessor.

The appeal of President Wilson in October 1918 for the election of a Democratic Congress, which the people refused by so great a majority, was not merely an injustice to the Republican Senators and Representatives who with splendid loyalty had supported every forward step of the Administration, and had responded to every suggestion for the grant of increased powers. It was a demand for the continuance of supreme power by the election of a Congress which would submit itself to the

orders of an Executive acting at once as a Party leader in politics and a dictator in government. It was the instinct of the American Democracy that repelled the demand. Such has long been the government of Mexico. A government with a Louis Napoleon at one end and a plebiscite at the other and with naught but subservience between is not a free republic. It is autocracy by consent.

The President's defiance of the authority of the Senate to advise upon the Covenant for the League of Nations, and to give or withhold its consent to the ratification of the Treaty containing it, was an assertion of a right to continue the same autocratic power. It was not a question of Senatorial dignity or consequence. We need care little for that. It was a challenge to the right of any officer of the Government of the United States to exercise his powers in any way which had not the approval of the Chief Executive. The President had the Constitutional authority and duty to negotiate a treaty. The Senate had the Constitutional authority and duty to advise and to consent or refuse to consent in accordance with their judgment. The right to perform that duty was challenged. By all the tremendous power of a President commanding millions of civil and military subordinates and controlling the expenditures of billions of money, Senators were threatened if they did not submit their judgment to the Presidential will. Many questions were difficult and doubtful. I personally differ from many gentlemen in the Senate upon some of those questions; but, whether their conclusions are right or wrong, I should have despised them if they had yielded their honest opinions to Executive threats, and I honor them for the courage and fortitude with which they have maintained the authority of the Constitution they were sworn to support, and discharged the duty of independent judgment imposed upon them by the people who elected them to office.

Nor have the long and painstaking discussions of the Senate been without most useful results. The Treaty which it was their duty to consider was fatally defective in several respects, not only from the standpoint of the vital interests of the United States, but considered as an instrument designed to secure the future peace of the world. In private life we are at liberty to discuss the Treaty without reading it, and to form and express conclusions based upon what someone else has told us. Not so with the Senators. They were bound to test the true meaning of every paragraph, to consider the conditions which the provisions were to meet, to estimate the human forces of self-interest and prejudice and passion under the influence of which the Treaty was to be applied, and to form their own judgment upon the results which would be produced for America and for civilization. No man ever lived who could be trusted to negotiate a complicated and important treaty without having his work tested by the independent judgment of men who were not direct parties to the negotiation. Because in this particular case the President himself was the negotiator of the Treaty, the Senate alone had the authority and the duty to perform this necessary function of independent review.

The reservations adopted by the Senate remedy so far as the United States is concerned the chief objections to the Treaty. They prevent our entrance into the League of Nations from being an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, with irreparable injury to the United States, and no benefit to the rest of the world. Especially important is it that they prevent the incredible mistake of Article X. That Article contains an express agreement "to preserve as against external 'aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.'" If that stipulation

means anything, and is not mere sham and false pretence, it will if ratified, bind the United States when occasion arises to defend every member of the League by armed force against external aggression. It will bind the United States to do that, no matter what our people at the time think about the right and wrong of the controversy, or about the wisdom or folly of entering upon it. It will require the United States to fight on occasion for all the dispositions of territory made by the Supreme Council in Paris under the influence of secret treaties and bitter animosities and political expediencies,—dispositions of territory many of which are doubtful, and some of which are clearly wrong. Two things seem plain. First: The sense of justice and the independent and uncontrolled power of the United States to throw its weight whenever occasion arises in favor of what it deems to be right in the affairs of the world is the greatest single influence towards that justice among nations which is the essential requisite of peace, and such an agreement as this (if observed) would rob the world of that influence, because the United States would be bound by this formula to act irrespective of its judgment at the time. Second: There is a practical certainty that if the United States entered into such an agreement it would not observe it. No human power can bring the people of the United States into a war unless at the time when they are called upon to fight they believe the cause to be just and worthy of sacrifice. If the occasion for acting under Article X when it came did not appeal to the judgment and sympathies of the people of the United States, it would be impossible to comply with the agreement, and the worst possible thing for the peace of the world would happen, that the United States should have made a solemn treaty and should break it.

It seems clear to me that in the interests of the worlds peace, which all America desires to promote, this Treaty ought to be ratified with the reservations of the Senate, and that without those reservations in their fair and honest substance it ought not to be ratified. I hope the Treaty will be ratified with the reservations long before the Presidential Election. That will be done if the President permits it. If that is not done, then that is what I think the Republican Party ought to stand for.

Immediately after the fourth of March, 1921, a Republican President should urge upon the Society of Nations the reform of the League Covenant, so as to make it establish the rule of public right rather than the rule of mere expediency, so as to make the peace of the world rest primarily upon law, and upon the effectiveness and enforcement of law. A Congress of all nations should be called to consider and declare what of international law still remains of binding force, and to provide for the further development and extension of that law, and for the application of the law to all justiciable cases of controversy between nations by impartial judicial tribunals, and to make the decisions of such tribunals upon questions of fact and upon questions of law binding and effective. That is the old American doctrine, and that is the necessary method of democracies, for democracies can live only under governments of laws, and not of men.

The extreme effects of the possession of arbitrary power are seen in the extraordinary letters of the President to Secretary Lansing published on the 14th of February, 1920, by which it appears that honest and independent advice from officers of the President's own selection is an offence, and that the exercise of the most ordinary powers of the heads of Departments without consulting the President when his illness prevented consultation is cause for resentment.

It is interesting to observe that many citizens—official and unofficial—who are willing that the country should assume the startling obligations of Article X are opposing the system of Universal Military Training, without which our obligation would be worthless, and which intensively applied enabled the United States to turn the scale of war against Germany. They say we have millions of young men already trained, but how long is the service which these splendid and patriotic youths have already rendered to their Country to be made the ground for imposing upon them exclusively the burden of further service, and leaving the millions of young men who come to military age year after year untrained and unfitted to do their part for the defense of our Country?

One result of the War and of the universal unrest which has followed it has been to force upon the American Democracy a series of questions which involve the very life of the Nation. These questions arise from widely different causes, and each presents its own special problems;—Bolshevism, Americanization of Immigrants, the deportation or discipline of seditious aliens, the relations of capital and labor under the new conditions, the relations of organized labor to the public, the coal supply, the railroads, the preservation of public health, security for the life of the community, and opportunity for the pursuit of happiness by its members. Here is a great variety of subjects, but the method of treating all of them must depend upon a clear conception of what our system of government is, and what we mean it to be. Our Government rests upon certain very simple ideas.

First, that all men are equally endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that governments are instituted to secure these rights.

Second, that the government which secures these unalienable rights is to be constituted and conducted pursuant to the will of those whose rights it is intended to secure expressed through a majority vote of all of them.

There are three things essential to the maintenance of such a system of government. One is that there shall be universal opportunity for education, so that the governing body may vote intelligently. A second is that the governing body shall recognize its responsibility for justice in the broadest sense in maintaining the unalienable rights of the minority and every individual composing it. The third is that there shall be real opportunity for the individual citizen to better his condition and that of his family by industry, thrift, self-denial, enterprise, courage, skill, talent, genius. There must be security for the fruits of enterprise. No crust must form to hold down the aspiring. No human power must make the rewards of industry and idleness, ambition and indifference, intelligence and stupidity, the same.

The whole course of development of free, self-government from monarchical and aristocratic forms has been in the direction of more and more universal suffrage, and more complete power of the majority of all who live under the government. We have reached a point where neither religion, nor occupation, nor color, nor race, nor property, nor poverty nor degree of education, excludes any man from the opportunity to take part in his own government by his vote. In the greater part of the Country, this is extended to both sexes. Our Government is a government directed by the majority of all who are governed.

Bolshevism is a government of all the people of a country by a part of the people constituting a single class called "The Proletariat", or the mass of industrial workmen who have no capital and depend for support on daily or casual employment. All others are grouped

with the "Bourgeois", and are to have no part in government. This system has been tried for the past two years in Russia. Its purpose was set forth in an authentic statement from Petrograd in January, 1919, as follows:

"The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer power. To conquer power means to destroy the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and to organize a new proletarian government apparatus. This new apparatus must express the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the occasion for the immediate expropriation of capital and the elimination of the private right of owning the means of production through making them common property."

The governmental apparatus of the proletariat employed in Russia is the Soviet system, under which the workmen in each industry, in each locality select delegates to a kind of central Soviet or committee, which in turn selects a few men to exercise the powers of government. With the assent of the Soviets, Lenin and Trotzky are now exercising absolutely despotic power in a large part of Russia in the name of the proletariat through a reign of terror and violence which makes the French Revolution seem mild and conservative. Tens of thousands of people have been put to death without any form of trial, or any charge except the assertion by somebody or anybody that they were opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, or were friendly to those who were opposed. The despotic control extends to the workmen themselves. No strikes are permitted. No elections by Soviets have been permitted to stand, unless the persons elected were friendly to Lenin and Trotzky. It would seem as if the methods employed were designed to exterminate all who did not belong to the proletariat; but Trotzky in a signed article

on January 10, 1919, explained that this is not so. He said:

"While dispersing, arresting, and shooting saboteurs and conspirators, the proletariat says: 'I shall break your will, because my will is stronger than yours, and I shall force you to serve me.' * * * Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class is historically justified, precisely because the proletariat was able thereby to break the political will of the Intelligentsia, pacify the professional men of various categories and work, and gradually subordinate them to its own aims within the fields of their specialties."

In the meantime the economic condition of Russia has gone from bad to worse. The collapse of industry, the breakdown of transportation, the starvation and misery of millions of people, without any practical constructive measures of relief are appalling beyond expression.

I am not going to discuss the merit of these two systems. There is no shadow of doubt as to which kind of government the people of the United States stand for. By an overwhelming majority the people of the United States and of every State mean to maintain Lincoln's government of the people by the people and for the people. They will no more be governed by a class of laborers than they will be governed by a class of aristocrats, or a class of plutocrats, or a class of soldiers. They will trust the justice and maintain the power and enforce the will of the American Democracy as a whole. That, of course, is where the Republican Party will stand.

This is so plain that there would be no justification for talking about it, except for two things.

The first is that Russian Bolshevism has set out upon a definite undertaking to destroy all existing democratic governments, and it is carrying on an extensive and

vigorous propaganda to accomplish that end. It has a vast multitude of missionaries at work not only in Europe, but in the United States, who by misrepresenting the actual and promising the impossible are trying to win labor over to their plan for establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. They have made some headway in the United States, chiefly among the foreign-born laborers, and against the intelligent opposition of the great leaders of organized labor in America. The assault is too substantial to be wisely ignored. America is full of Intelligentsia, and we cannot afford to have them all turned by terror into parlor Bolsheviks.

We are already meeting the assault in two ways. When we find one of these Bolshevik missionaries or his converts inciting criminal overthrow of government by violence, we punish him or deport him. That is lawful and sensible. The right of free speech does not include the right to incite to crime. Yet, we must be careful not to overlook the distinction. Let there be fair hearing, and let no expression of mere differing opinion—however radical or distasteful—be punished.

One of the things the Republican Party has to do apparently is to clear a lot of Bolsheviks or sympathizers with the Bolsheviks out of the public offices of our Government. The administration of the law regarding these missionaries of sedition has been apparently very bad,—illustrating that weak kind of government which tries to make up for being too lax at one time by being too severe at another. Let us hope for an Administration that will put the control of this business in the hands of men sufficiently strong and impartial to be just at all times.

The chief means of meeting the Bolshevik assault, however, is by what we call "Americanization", an organ-

ized active popular movement to instruct the foreign-born in the principles, the history, and the character of American free institutions. That is to use the true weapon of free democracy. We must not confine it to the foreign-born. It must extend to all the children in the schools, and to that end it must be extended to all the teachers in the schools, not by any means excluding the professors in our colleges. There is not one of us—no, not one in this great Country—who will not profit by learning more or hearing over again about the simple truths so often forgotten, upon which our liberty, the security of our homes, the opportunities of our children, rest; and about the duty of service by us if these truths are to be maintained.

Let the Republican Party give to the movement for Americanization the strength of its publicly declared and active support.

It is not enough, however, to teach Americanization. If the principles of our Government are to be maintained they must be applied. It is hopeless to teach them unless we practise them. The relations between organized labor in the United States and the public, call for the definite and conscious application of those principles in two distinct directions. The first is to assert the control of the whole people of the United States within its field, and the whole people of each State within its field, over matters essential to the life of the community, to the exclusion of any class control over such matters. The second is to exercise that popular control by making and applying such laws and establishing such institutions of government, as to secure justice within the law to the members of every class and calling, so that our system of government will be justified by its works.

For many years the American people have been watching, and from time to time as individuals taking part in

the great struggle for a fair division of the newly produced wealth of the world between the inventors and organizers who inaugurated new enterprises, the capitalists great and small who risked their money and frequently lost it, the laborers whose toil produced more than ever before, and the consumers who purchased the product which cost less capital and less labor than ever before. When labor used its weapon of the strike to secure from the employer better wages, shorter hours, better conditions of working and of living, the general public sympathy has been with the laborer, alienated only occasionally by unreasonable demands or acts of violence. The force of the strike was applied to the pocket of the employer. Agreement to labor's demands was the price of continued profits.

There has, however, been a change in the character of those economic struggles. The massing of the population in cities where millions are dependent from day to day for their food and water, and heat, and light, and health, and safety, upon the uninterrupted operation of great business enterprises for production and transportation, has brought a new point of application for the force of the strike. The effective threat of a general coal strike, or a general railroad strike, is not that if such and such demands are not complied with the coal companies or the railroad companies will cease to make profits. It is that if such and such demands are not complied with, millions of Americans will be deprived of things necessary to their existence. The demands may be right or they may be wrong. Whether they be right or wrong the people of the Country who are dependent upon the continued operation of those industries must in some way secure compliance with the demands, in order to save their lives, unless the makers of the demands relent or are controlled.

This situation presents with startling distinctness the question whether our American popular government is to continue, or is to be changed into a class dictatorship.

The people over whom one class or section holds lawful power of life or death to compel compliance with its demands is not sovereign. It does not govern. It is subject to the control of the dominating class. The demands may be moderate today, but they are moderate only through the forbearance of the controlling class; and, ordinary knowledge of human nature teaches us that with power unrestrained, the demands will become oppressive tomorrow. The question is not of form. It is one of substance. It is "Who exercises the real power of government, the people or the class?" If it be the class which rules, while it will doubtless be for a time less brutal here in purpose than the proletariat of Lenin and Trotzky, the government will be in its essence the same. It will be a class control over the majority, established and maintained through fear of actual physical injury, fear of cold, and hunger, and darkness, and pestilence, the stopping of the machinery upon which life depends. The philosophical justification of the strike aimed at the life of the community cannot be found short of Trotzky's proposition, "Terror as the demonstration of 'the will' and strength of the working class is historically justified, 'precisely because the proletariat was able thereby to 'break the political will of the Intelligentsia, &c.' " The real force of such a strike is represented by Trotzky's other words, "The proletariat says, 'I shall break your will, because my will is stronger than yours, and I shall 'force you to serve me.' "

If we are to maintain the principles of our Government of all the people by all the people, we must apply those principles now to this situation. If we are a self-governing people, we must govern and not be governed. We should not attempt to make any man work against his will. We should not attempt to take away the right to strike. It is labor's great protection. But we should by

law limit the right to strike at the point where it comes in conflict with the community's higher right of self-preservation. No man and no set of men can justly claim the right to undertake the performance of a service upon which the health and life of others depend, and then to abandon the service at will. The line between such a performance and an ordinary strike should be drawn by law.

Inseparably connected with the right of control by the governing people is the duty of justice resting upon them. If the people by law prohibit organized labor from holding them up to enforce its demands, the people are bound to provide means to ascertain whether the demands are just, and for enforcing them if they be found just. That duty calls for the establishment of a competent and impartial tribunal, and for the enforcement of its decisions. The present methods are as irrational as private war among citizens who go armed with deadly weapons to compel compliance with what they deem to be their rights and privileges. It can be dealt with only as private war has been dealt with, not by acquiescence, not by prohibition alone, but by prohibition accompanied by adequate remedies in lieu of private compulsion.

The new relations of labor to the industries in which it is employed point in the same direction. Everywhere labor is acquiring rights in its employment, rights in the business, rights to share in the profits, in the regulation and in the control. These new rights carry with them new duties. There is no such thing as a right without a correlative duty resting upon the possessor of the right. All rights are relative. All rights are limited by the nature of the subject to which they apply. The countryman who removes to a great city finds his liberty limited for the safety of the community. The man who whether as employer or as laborer engages in the great mass enterprises upon which the life of our communities now

depend will have sooner or later to recognize that his liberty is limited for the safety of the community. The right of capital to combine and organize carries the duty to submit the new power thus acquired to limitations for the safety of the community. The right of labor to combine and organize carries with it the duty to submit the new power thus acquired to limitations for the safety of the community. We are dealing with the subject now by piece-meal, partially, applying inappropriate and inadequate provisions, of old war-time statutes, stretched out upon technicalities to cover times of peace. The subject should be dealt with as a whole, frankly, considerably, courageously, in the exercise of the power of this great Republic, to protect civil society, and in performance of the duty of this Republic to do justice to every class of its citizens.

Whoever approaches the task with unselfish purpose will find that it involves no denial of legal right or social justice, but the just application of the ancient rules of the Common Law, and the essential principles of civil liberty; and it is a fair prophecy that when the voice of the American Democracy has asserted through effective action its just power of government, no one will accept the decision more loyally than the liberty-loving and patriotic men who make up the great body of organized labor in the United States.

During all the years of the War the Republican Party was loyal to its National traditions. While the strength and service of the whole people were required to carry on the War, yet in the United States alone among the nations, power and authority were retained by a strictly partisan government. The dignity and gratification of office, the exercise of authority, the disposal of vast revenues, the incense of popular applause were confined to the members of the Democratic Party. To be consulted, to be trusted,

to be rewarded, was the part of the Democrats. The part of the Republicans was to stand outside the circle of authority, to give, and to serve, under the direction of their political opponents. Because they loved their Country, they did give, and they did serve to the limit of their means and their strength. They put aside the natural impulses of Party opposition, and distrust, and resentment, and devoted all their powers to the support of the Democratic Administration with an unselfish patriotism worthy of all honor, and full of cheerful hope for the future of America.

As we look back, we see already, do we not, that theirs was the better part? Not office nor emolument, nor praise was the reward of those who only served; but a spirit purified, and a vision enlarged by the habit of unselfish service for America.

The defence of free self-government against class domination demands another service. Some will suffer, some votes will be lost, some offices will be sacrificed; but American Democracy will be saved. Shall Republicans not answer? Will they temporize? Can they refuse?

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